

PEACE NEWS

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WHAT THE U-BOMB DOES

Prof. Rotblat's warning

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

AN article by Professor Rotblat in the current Atomic Scientists Journal sets out in detail what is now known about the "hydrogen" bomb tested in the Pacific by the United States on March 1, 1954 and which resulted in illness and death for the Japanese fishermen.

Professor Rotblat entitles his article "The Hydrogen-Uranium Bomb," and this type of bomb could more appropriately be called the U-bomb than the H-bomb.

The line of development has been as follows: The bomb dropped on Hiroshima was a fission (atom-splitting) bomb, using plutonium. It was as powerful as 20,000 tons of TNT. It has been developed since Hiroshima and the largest is at least three times as powerful as the early atom bombs.

Radiation danger

The earlier H-bombs use a variant of hydrogen and the main effect is produced by fusion (combining of atoms) instead of fission. The atom-bomb section producing explosion by fission is in the main the trigger necessary to set in operation the fusion part of the bomb.

The radiation effects of fusion are much less than those of fission, so that the H-bomb, while developing explosive power to several million tons of TNT did not greatly add to radiation dangers.

The next theoretical development to follow the H-bomb was the C-bomb—an H-bomb with a cobalt casing which would have created world-wide radioactivity. As this would not so much have added to the capacity for the destruction of an enemy as to capacity for the indiscriminate destruction of humanity this bomb was never built.

As Sir John Cockcroft, Director of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell, told a meeting of the Parliamentary Scientific Committee recently, "The cobalt bomb would offer no advantages to a lunatic designer."

The Uranium bomb, however, would, and does.

Uranium casing

The U-bomb, now described by Professor Rotblat, is the H-bomb with an outer casing of uranium. What happens in this case is that the "trigger" atom bomb operates by fission, the hydrogen section by fusion, and the uranium casing again by fission. It is possible by this means to expand the H-bomb's devastation without limit, but as it is fission rather than fusion that creates radioactivity the extent of the danger through radiation is enormously increased.

On this aspect Professor Rotblat writes:

"In a hydrogen-uranium bomb discussed above, the fission fragments, other than those in the fall-out, are drawn up with the fire-ball into the upper atmosphere and then spread all over the globe, gradually settling to the surface."

If tests continue

"If we assume that it takes about two months for the fragments to settle down and that they are then spread uniformly as a superficial layer all over the globe (this assumption is not necessary for the evaluation of the genetic hazard but it is made to simplify the calculation), the Gamma-ray dose delivered anywhere in the world would be about 0.1 rontgens. This is the accumulated dose over a period of many years but about 40 per cent. of it would be delivered in one year. Even during that period much of the radioactivity would be washed away by rain but, on the other hand, we ought to add the dose delivered when the fragments were still suspended in the air, as well as the dose due to the Alpha- and Beta-rays. Assuming that these effects roughly compensate each other we arrive at a global dose of 0.04 rontgens per hydrogen bomb. On this basis we calculate that 75 such bombs exploded at arbitrary intervals every 30 years i.e. at the rate of 2.5 tests per year, would double the natural level of radiation."

"Rough as this estimate may be it certainly shows that we are sailing much closer to the wind than many of us thought."

"It seems more than likely that should there be a full scale atomic war—in which the large stocks of the bigger and better hydrogen bombs now manufactured were used—it would have disastrous results for the whole world, partisans and neutrals alike, from the genetic point of view, quite apart from the immediate effects. But even without a war there is a probable risk of running into the genetic trouble, if the tests of these weapons continue at the present rate."

MORE "NO H-BOMB" CANDIDATES FOR GENERAL ELECTION

Britain should set an example to the world

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE number of pacifist candidates contesting seats outside the Labour Party in the General Election is growing.

In Bermondsey, a London dockland constituency, 27-year-old dental surgeon Stanley Birkett will contest the seat as an Independent Labour Party Candidate opposed to the manufacture of the H-bomb.

He told Peace News this week:

"As a member of the ILP, famous for its fight against militarism in the two world wars, I intend to give the electors of Bermondsey a chance of expressing the feelings of millions of working men and women, who despair of the promises of the two major parties."

"I stand for the total and immediate abolition of the H-bomb and all weapons of war."

"Both Labour and Tory say that we must have the H-bomb and wage atomic war. The people of Bermondsey will only be able to vote against this frightful weapon, which the generals intend to use, by supporting genuine socialism, which has always been anti-war."

"The Labour Party supports war"

"I want to fight this election on the straight issue of Socialism versus the rest. The Tory Party represents big business, the men making profits out of the manufacture of arms. The Labour Party supports capitalism and the preparations for a third world war."

Born at Birkenhead, Stanley Birkett was educated at John Bright Grammar School, Llandudno, and the Royal Dental Hospital, London. He joined the ILP in 1946 and is now a member of the National Administrative Council. He is a member of the Peace Pledge Union.

Mr. R. J. Mellish (Lab.) won the seat at the 1951 election, polling 26,267 votes against 5,265 Conservative and 1,779 Liberal.

From 1947-49 Mr. Mellish was First Lord of the Admiralty. He is a dock workers' trade union official and has been a member of the Transport and General Workers Union for over 20 years.

An ex-serviceman and former Area Secretary

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Acland continues challenge

Peace News Reporter

SIR RICHARD ACLAND has rejected the Gravesend Labour Candidate's suggestion that he stand down and contest the first by-election.

After meeting Mr. Mishcon (Chairman of the London County Council, defeated candidate for Bath in the 1951 General Election, defeated candidate for West Leeds, 1950), Sir Richard said:

"Anyone in Gravesend will tell Mr. Mishcon that I, either as a Labour candidate or as an Independent, would win the Gravesend seat. By contrast, if none of this business had blown up, and I had retired from politics for health reasons, they would say that any other Labour candidate chosen to succeed me would have lost the seat to the Tories. That means, surely, that he splits the vote who enters the contest, in spite of the fact that he would not have had a chance to win it, even in a straight fight. I throw the split vote challenge back to him."

Concerned over the threatened railway strike, Sir Richard has installed bunks at his headquarters for his London helpers. The need for six "tough" types who can "rough it," and be of real assistance to Sir Richard near the election date, still exists. Volunteers should contact Sir Richard at 1 Union St., Gravesend. (Moderate expenses will be met.)

THE AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE

Peace hopes rise in Asia

FOURTEEN hundred million people were represented by the delegates at the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, this month. The conference was the first inter-continental conference of coloured people.

Premier Sastromoijono, President of the conference said that the foremost reason for calling the Afro-Asian peoples together was that the world was suffering from "agonising tension." He asked, "Where do we peoples of Asia and Africa stand, and for what do we stand in this world dominated by fear; fear that any day another war may be unleashed upon mankind bringing horrors of destruction never dreamed of before?"

He said that the Afro-Asian people stood for peace, but peace was a word that had practically become a platitude; therefore he needed to define it. "We don't want any domination either by force or by ideology," he warned, "from whatever quarter it may come."

There was only one way to achieve genuine peace, and that was "to give the world faith in which alone humanity can prosper without fear or suspicion."

The political committee of the conference—

- Condemned racial discrimination, naming South Africa in particular.
- Supported self-determination of peoples.
- Backed independence claims of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.
- Urged Holland to reopen negotiations on West New Guinea with the hope that United Nations would assist in a peace-settlement.
- Issued a declaration in support of the Palestine Arabs and of a peaceful settlement.

The Economic Committee recommended the creation of an international atomic energy agency. They also decided that the countries at the conference should have economic liaison officers in one another's capitals, but should not set up a permanent economic organisation.

A number of delegates of countries associated with the American bloc criticised Communist colonisation and these criticisms were also voiced by Sir John Kotewala of Ceylon.

He urged that a genuine desire for a policy of co-existence required the abandonment of Comintern activities in countries outside the Communist bloc.

The Turks, Iraqis, Siamese and Philippines with their several ties with the Western allies,

were in agreement, but the Burmese, Indonesians and Egyptians clung close to the

Report from Bandung

From Dr. Homer A. Jack

Peace News correspondent in Bandung

WHILE the five Colombo powers—Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Burma, and Indonesia—called the Asian-African Conference only last December, in reality the coloured peoples of the world have waited for centuries for this conclave.

In this mountain city of Bandung, just a few degrees south of the equator, the eyes of the world, in the person of 500 journalists, have focused on the delegates from 29 Asian and African countries.

Observers are here in many guises, with press credentials and without. There have been invited guests from the not-yet countries. Prophetically, at the opening session, a North African delegation from Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco were given a desk number 31 and a three-man delegation representing the African National Congress and the South Indian Congress were given desk number 32.

The Conference opened with the Prime Ministers of the five Colombo powers seated on the dais. President Sukarno of Indonesia gave the opening speech.

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ELECTION BRIEFS

The Rev. Hampden Horne, member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation will be Labour candidate for Saffron Walden. Seat was held by Mr. R. A. Butler, Chancellor of the Exchequer at the 1951 Election in a three-cornered contest: Con. 20,564, Lab. 15,245, Lib. 3,774.

The Liberal candidate for Ealing South has declared "that one side in the East-West conflict has sooner or later got to put its trust in the other. One side will have to renounce armaments of a world-destroying nature and make a start upon their destruction. Why should not Britain throw down the gauntlet now?" In a straight fight with Labour the seat was held by a Conservative with a majority of 12,057 at the 1951 election.

The Independent Labour Party has recommended that everyone who opposes the making of the H-bomb should spoil their election papers rather than vote for a candidate who supports the manufacture of the bomb.

The retiring Chairman of the National Association of Labour Student Organisations, Fred Moorhouse, has resigned from the Labour Party. "The issue which drives me to my present action is the H-bomb," he told this year's NALSO Conference.

"I am among those who think like Sir Richard Acland, that the time has come to say 'Stop,'" Canon H. A. Blair, of Devizes, Wilts has declared in his parish magazine.

Threat of veto on broadcasts

ON the Postmaster General's threatened veto on party broadcasts in Wales, Alderman Gwynfor Evans, the president of Plaid Cymru, issued a statement on behalf of the party on Thursday last week.

"The Postmaster General's declaration of his intention to use his power of veto to prevent the Welsh Council of the BBC proceeding with its policy of allowing party political broadcasts in Wales, is a very grave matter," he said.

"This will be the first time for the Minister to use this power in any matter concerning the BBC, and it will be upon a Welsh issue. Its use in this case would violate more than the right of a minority party to use a medium at least as important as the Press; it stifles the declared opinion of the Welsh people as expressed by over 100 local councils.

"The BBC's Welsh Council," the Plaid Cymru statement adds, "reflected Welsh public opinion in making a decision which was well within its power according to the terms of the BBC Charter. These powers are to be overridden at the bidding of two political parties which apparently fear the growth of Plaid Cymru more than they care for the rights of democracy."

"The purpose of the two major parties and the Postmaster General is to prevent the people from hearing the case for Wales and its rights."

"Already they have succeeded in preventing Plaid Cymru making a political broadcast before the next General Election."

"Where would the Labour Party be if the two main parties at the beginning of the century had been able to deny it access to the press and platform?" he asked. "Broadcasting and television are the equivalent today, and all who are concerned that freedom of speech shall be preserved and that the right of minorities to grow into majorities shall be maintained, must rally now to the struggle for freedom of expression for minorities in the vitally important field of broadcasting."

Child victims of Hiroshima to be helped in U.S.

TWENTY young Japanese women who are badly scarred as a result of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945 are going to America to be treated by plastic surgery.

An American medical team has journeyed to Japan to bring them to New York where they will be treated at the Mount Sinai Hospital.

This arrangement has been made through the initiative of the "Hiroshima Peace Centre Associates," of Orange, New Jersey, an American group to aid victims of the bombing.

These girls were trapped in a school building at the time of the dropping of the bomb. All have suffered from the tissue-contracting effects of radiation. They were between 9 and 14 when the atom bomb was dropped and their present ages thus range from 19 to 24. They have been living together and are known as the "Hiroshima maidens."

Most will require treatment through advanced plastic surgery and it is expected to take from four to six months.

Another victim, the fourth this year, has died in Hiroshima from the effects of the bombing ten years ago.

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You are not guilty because you are ignorant, but you are guilty when you resign yourselves to ignorance.—MAZZINI.

BOMB VICTIMS

IT is not only those who are killed or who are turned into physical wrecks who are the victims of atomic weapons.

We have more than once urged here that the two teams of airmen who were induced to drop the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki ten years ago were just as much the victims of those who decided on the bombing as were the 300,000 men, women and children who were killed, and the many others who had their physical or mental health destroyed; and in some ways it is the airmen who make the greater demand upon our compassion.

Indeed, in a sense, what we find most horrifying in the pronouncements of statesmen and prelates on the need for manufacturing H-bombs is not so much the appalling evil they are prepared to inflict on millions of defenceless men, women and children, but that they are ready to accept the conditioning, influencing or enticing of young men to do evil of this magnitude, well knowing—if they permit themselves to think about it at all—that these young men will be thus condemning themselves to something worse than the death and suffering they inflict.

There are other atomic weapon victims, however. In a letter published in Peace News last year to Miako Kuboyama, the small daughter of the Japanese fisherman who died after the test explosion in the Pacific in the previous March, Devere Allen, editor of Worldover Press, remarked that many US papers and commentators "spoke up like so many hired propagandists, attempting to show that your father had not died from his experience last March but from some newer causes"; and he commented "Truly, Miako, most Americans are not like these. When they know the truth most Americans are sound and kind."

That is a comment with which those who have met or have had dealings with American people (outside the area of control of the State Department) will agree. But Americans have suffered during the past decade: they have suffered from a sense of guilt which produces curious and unpleasant phenomena in human conduct. That sense of guilt came first from the fact that it was mainly through an American initiative that Hiroshima and Nagasaki were atom bombed. It is a sense of guilt that should be shared by us all, but it was inevitable that Americans should have felt it most acutely.

That sense of horror at the unlimited capacity of human beings for inflicting evil has been very largely dispersed. That this should be so in the short space of ten years is an even greater menace to the human spirit than the atom bomb itself. It is not merely the passage of time, however, that has had this effect, but the procession of even more terrible successors to the atom bomb, which by contrast relegate this appalling instrument to one of the early fumblings of mankind in the realm of evil.



For the procession of successors to that first A-bomb the people of the USA have, so far as the West is concerned, to take the greatest responsibility. It is true that Britain now proposes to join in, and that unless the British people can find a way during the coming general election to declare against this decision they in their turn will have to come to share fully in the present American sense of guilt.

That this sense of guilt is present there is no doubt, and some very unpleasant psychological consequences result from it. Some of the expressions of sympathy in the American press with the Japanese who were injured by that American test last year were painfully grudging and limited. Then there tended to develop some debate on whether the dying fisherman was not really suffering from something else. Then this theory was dropped out of discussion, and we had hoped this had happened through a sense of shame.

It has been revived in a new form, however. Dr. J. C. Bugher, of the US Atomic Energy Commission now claims that Kuboyama died of hepatitis and not as the result of radiation, and there has followed a discussion between him and Japanese medical men on whether this hepatitis was or was not necessarily a result of radiation. Dr. Ohishi of the First Tokyo National Hospital, reporting that radiation injuries were detected in bone marrow, lymph nodes, spleen and testicles.

That an official attached to the US Atomic Commission should be today engaging in controversy with Japanese doctors on whether or not Kuboyama was killed by the American bomb will strike most people as being unseemly to the point of obscenity.

Those who have seen photographs of the physical results wrought by nuclear weapons are aware that the results are often exceedingly unpleasant to contemplate. The results on the minds of the victims of the sense of guilt that the American Government has been busy producing are also not pleasant to contemplate. As Devere Allen has said: "Most Americans are not like this." In all probability the normal Dr. Bugher is not like this. He is an atomic weapon victim.

Mr Mishcon makes an appeal

THE linking of Britain with US policy through NATO; the policy of "negotiation from strength"; US bombing bases; conscription; the linking of Britain with the plan for a European army and the rearming of Germany; the manufacture and stock-piling of atom-bombs; preparation for the manufacture of H-bombs; discomfort regarding American policy in the Pacific; and a commitment to high-level talks between the powers at an early suitable date.

These are issues upon which there has been no consultation of the British electorate and upon which if the two main parties can manage it (with the Liberals making not the slightest difference in this respect) there will be no consultation in the forthcoming General Election.

These are by far the most important political decisions that have been taken in this country in recent years and the electors are deprived of a means of declaring themselves because there is nothing to choose between the major parties on these issues. They stand for the same attitude and the same policy. All that is offered to the electors in most constituencies is a chance to choose between different sets of men to administer the same policy.

Matters of domestic policy are of insignificant importance compared with the issues mentioned above; so much so that it would indicate a deplorable failure in a sense of proportion if those who disagreed with the policies of the two parties on these matters were to vote for one or the other over some trifling difference that might be perceived in regard to domestic affairs.

For more than a year now we have had to listen to debates within the parties on the issue that they regard as of supreme importance: how so to adjust matters and adapt and present policies so that they may achieve success in the coming general election. If we take 6d. off income tax—or if we take an uncompromising line on the control of transport or the nationalisation of steel—can we gain an electoral advantage without the embarrassment of having to discuss the decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb or the extent to which we are committed to American policy?

It is this attitude of mind that Mr. V. Mishcon, who comes into Gravesend as an amenable Party instrument, brings to the election when he proposes that Sir Richard Acland "for the good of the Party" shall stand down and give him a clear field. Some other day there will be facilities for Sir Richard to satisfy his desire to challenge the most important decision the party has taken in its history!

It is not the elimination of Sir Richard from the election that is desirable but that there should be more who will take a similar stand. We are glad to see that some of these are coming forward. We should like to see among them some others who, like Sir Richard Acland, hold seats in the present House.

Towards Four-power talks

ON May 2 the representatives of Russia, the USA, France and Britain will meet in Vienna to consider the agreement that has been arrived at between Russia and Austria on the terms of the Austrian Treaty, and to settle outstanding points.

This question of arranging for an independent Austria has been the example repeatedly given by the Western powers of the kind of initiative coming from Russia that would be acceptable evidence of goodwill. Now this evidence has been produced there is the normal diplomatic reaction of looking at it with suspicious eyes.

The indication of Marshal Bulganin,

BEHIND THE NEWS

however, that Russia is ready for Four-Power talks, thus dropping the earlier claim that the ratification of the Paris agreements would make such talks impossible, should surely open the way to discussions on the wider European issues.

If the Russians bring to these talks a readiness to accept provision for "free elections" in the Western sense of the term it might make possible, despite the intense opposition it will inevitably produce from the British and American military authorities, the discussion of the possibility of a neutralised and unified Germany; which in turn could lead to the consideration of a wider area of neutralisation.

Chou En-lai at Bandung

OUTSTANDING at the Bandung Conference was the attitude of conciliation brought by Chou-En-lai.

His reassertion during the closing hour of the Conference of the Chinese "sovereign right" to "liberate" Formosa should not be held, we believe, to detract from the importance of the earlier cordial approach to the question of talks with a view to a peaceful settlement.

His proposal had been that China and the United States should come together to negotiate "over tensions in the Far East and particularly in the Formosa area." That the USA should be concerned that Chiang should have a place in these discussions was to be expected, but the reply that came from President Eisenhower was a curmudgeonly setting out pre-conditions for talks for which he very evidently had no stomach. This reply having been given, Chou-En-lai clearly felt that he must reiterate the Chinese basic condition in his turn.

As we have already indicated here, we do not believe that the Peking Government contemplates going to war to secure Formosa. It holds the view that given a peaceful settlement with America which will put an end to the military support which keeps the forces of Chiang as a threat to the mainland, a peaceful settlement with Chiang—or with the bulk of Chiang's forces—would rapidly follow. It is not Chiang who constitutes the formidable enemy of China in Formosa; it is the USA.

Ilya Ehrenburg and the World Peace Council

IN last Sunday's Observer Edward Crankshaw referred to a very significant article by Ilya Ehrenburg which had appeared in Pravda for the previous Monday. In the course of this Ehrenburg remarks that there are hundreds of millions of people who want peace and who not only remain outside the movement represented by the World Peace Council "but at times treat it with a certain suspicion as representing one political party or group of states."

He says:

"Neither Mr. Bevan's political friends who denounced atomic war, nor the German Social Democrats who are opposed to reviving German militarism, nor the American scientists who insist that atomic weapons be outlawed, nor the representatives of the Lutheran Church Council who have censured the preaching of hatred, belong to the peace

preaching of hatred, belong to the peace

movement, although their views and demands are similar to those of the peace movement."

Now if we had been referring to the suspicion that is felt with regard to the control of the Conference that will be meeting next month at Helsinki and the limitations within which it must work, and if we had thus enumerated the great sections of public opinion that remain outside it, we should have come in for quite an amount of criticism from some of our friends who want peace but not pacifism as well as some from some who are pacifists. Coming from Mr. Ehrenburg, however, we suggest that these comments call for a little serious consideration even by these.

It is true that Mr. Ehrenburg remarks that the suspicion he mentions is without foundation and is due to misinformation, but this is merely, having stated the issue, to evade it.

We suggest that so far from it being merely a suspicion that the World Peace Council meetings can only reach decisions that are acceptable to one political party or group of states, it is self-evident fact, and indeed that it is inevitable in the circumstances in which these gatherings come together.

The situation examined

LET us examine the conditions that obtain for the two sets of "delegates" coming from one of the Western countries and those that obtain for those coming from Russia, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc.

If we take Britain as representing the West there may be a diversity of types with a diversity of policies. From these we may choose two: Mr. Pat Sloan, a Communist, and Canon Harman, a pacifist.

Mr. Sloan's attitude will be exceedingly critical of the policies of the British and American Governments and will be strongly in favour of the policy that Mr. Ehrenburg may be advancing on behalf of the Russian delegation.

Canon Harman, who attending a previous World Peace Conference, spoke with great candour and independence of mind, would urge criticisms of aspects of the policies pursued by the Eastern group of powers, unlike Mr. Sloan, and he, like Mr. Sloan, would also be exceedingly critical of the policies of the British and American Governments.

Now we know in advance when Mr. Ehrenburg comes to one of the World Peace Conferences that certain conditions that obtain for both Mr. Sloan and Canon Harman will not hold for Mr. Ehrenburg. He will not, for instance, be in disagreement with another member of the delegation from his country, as are Mr. Sloan and Canon Harman; and neither will he advocate a policy in strong antagonism to the policy of his own Government as will both Mr. Sloan and Canon Harman.

If Mr. Ehrenburg were desirous of urging a policy opposed to that of his Government he would not be provided with facilities for attending the Conference any more than he would be provided with opportunities in Russia for the public expression of his antagonistic view; and as the views of his Government are the same as those for "one political party" (the only one that may exist in Russia); and as this Party is also the only party that may exist in "a group of states" the "certain suspicion" that Mr. Ehrenburg refers to is not suspicion at all but recognition of plain facts.

Needless to say, if Mr. Ehrenburg feels that what is said here in any way misrepresents the true situation we shall be glad to afford him space to explain what that situation is.

The Third Way and Non-violence

THE Spring-Summer issue of "Anvil," student magazine, oriented toward the Third Camp, and with several members of Peacemakers on its editorial board has just come out. It has several exceptionally good and timely articles which I commend.

One is on "Gandhi and Indian Socialism—a discussion of Socialist ideas developing in India" written by Brijen K. Gupta, a member of the Praja Socialist Party, who is at present studying and writing in the United States. A short article on Sartre is the clearest exposition of this existentialist's political development and role I have come across. A British student supplies a penetrating analysis of the role of "anti-Americanism" in the British Labour Party:

"TRIBUNE does not recognize that a socialist opposition to American foreign policy is at one and the same time a socialist opposition to present British foreign policy."

Finally, this issue of Anvil (25c., 36 East Tenth Street, New York City) reprints long excerpts from the address Fenner Brockway, MP, made at the War Resisters' International Third Camp Conference last summer in Paris under the title: "Asia, Africa and Hope." I find myself even more impressed by the rich content and noble spirit of this address than when I heard it the first time in Paris, and this is saying a good deal.

One reason for calling attention to this material is that it has a bearing on the critical articles on the Third Camp or Third Way that appeared in the April 1 Peace News under the title "Thirdness is Not Enough." I am glad that Alan Litherland expressed his doubts and that Peace

News published them. The Third Way movement is in a formative stage. Its thinking and programme have not been crystallized. There are dangers which threaten its effective development. Queries and criticisms are certainly welcome, so far as I am concerned.

I regret the more that in this case some of the criticism seems to me superficial and indicative of a very hasty reading of some of the writing on Third Camp, including my pamphlet "Camp of Liberation," one consignment of which the postal authorities in Boston have apparently made into a bonfire though another consignment came through the port of New York weeks ago without incident and is on sale in the Fellowship of Reconciliation office in New York!

For example, Alan Litherland alleges as a criticism that in his opinion the British Labour Party—"when not in office!"—could approve everything in the seven point Programme of the postal authorities in Boston have apparently made into a bonfire though another consignment came through the port of New York weeks ago without incident and is on sale in the Fellowship of Reconciliation office in New York!

When it comes to what political parties are willing to profess on paper when out of office, I know a number which do not bear the name of "Labour" at all that write impressive platforms. And is the proposal that the Labour Party should, in deed not on paper, abolish or openly and actively strive to abolish conscription a light matter? Or that the Labour Party should adopt the Third Camp proposal to free Britain of all "American economic, military or cultural domination, whether

direct or indirect," which my pamphlet published by Peace News advocated? And where is the evidence that either the Attlee-Gaitskell or the Bevanite wing of the Labour Party are prepared seriously to tackle these issues, to tell the United States, for example, to remove its atomic weapons and its air forces from British territory?

The thing which troubles Alan Litherland most, and where in my opinion concern would be justified if the Third Camp were unclear or vacillating is the issue of non-violence or disarmament; in other words, pacifism—to use his own phrase—"not in the sense of individual refusal of war, but in the . . . sense of a new national outlook in international affairs." But the first item in the seven point programme of "Liberation" already referred to deals with "war, conscription and militarism" and declares that men and women of the Third Camp will work in their respective countries by individual and group effort to destroy that country's militarism. The entire closing section of the pamphlet is devoted to an argument seeking to convince Western European peoples to withdraw, singly or in concert, from the arms race and power struggle, and to organize their regimes on a nonviolent basis.

To turn briefly to another point, there is surely no contradiction in saying that some countries in Western Europe, S.E. Asia, etc., are "potentially Third Camp countries" or are forced by the situation in which they find themselves to look for an alternative solution to that offered by Communism or capitalism and asserting, as I very explicitly do in the pamphlet, that this does not mean that they have reached or accepted the alternative and

that genuine Third Campers must not be misled at this point. If it be true—and it well may be—as Alan Litherland suggests, that there is no hope that some of the uncommitted countries will "get together and form a Third Camp quite soon," this is simply saying that we are in a bad way and have a tough job on our hands, not that we are "quite soon" going to insure peace by some other means.

There can surely be no quarrel with the obviously "Third Way" statement by Alex Comfort in his address before the H-bomb meeting at Friends House in March published in the adjoining column to Litherland's letter: "This country does not belong on the side of Communism as an ideology. It does not belong on the side of the United States. It belongs by tradition, by interest, and by inclination on the side which has recently been taken by India."

To take that side, as I have often contended, would mean for Britain to get out of the H-bomb goes to "kick this filthy thing out of the country," as Alex Comfort urged.

Finally, a single word about the other prospect of Third Way thinking which has to do with "the age old problem of ordering the life of a large human community." It seems to me imperative, whatever label we may or may not like, that we should be thinking about that, and obvious that we have not come up with a definitive solution. What most Third Way people say, however, is that almost certainly the best place to look for it is among the Gandhians and Asian socialists.

A neutral Austria

From FRANCIS RONA

VIENNA. THE journey of Chancellor Raab, invited to Moscow to discuss the Austrian Treaty, may signify a turning point in the "cold war." Austria obtained big concessions from Russia and simultaneously Molotov scored a diplomatic victory in Central Europe over the NATO powers and particularly over Mr. Dulles.

The Austrians negotiated, it may be said, from a "position of weakness." They received more than they dared to expect. The offer of the USSR—to withdraw troops this year if the Western Powers do the same and to return "German property" (about 140 large firms and the oil fields of Zistersdorf) against some \$150m. payable in goods—has been received with great satisfaction and even enthusiasm in Vienna.

Austrian assurances—not to join any military alliance nor to permit the establishment of foreign military bases on her territory—express the desire of the overwhelming majority of the population. If the West objects to the neutralisation of Austria the Russians can then blame them for obstructing relaxation of tension. On the other hand, the future exclusion of Austria from NATO and the withdrawal of Western troops may become a very attractive proposition to countries such as Denmark, Norway and even Western Germany if it gets unification.

It appears almost certain that "high level" talks on the Austrian Treaty will be held here next June or July. The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Britain, USA, USSR and France will also provide an opportunity for negotiations on other areas of friction. If the Vienna meeting should be successful, a new approach to the settlement of conflicts in Europe and Asia may follow.

Guarantees against the Anschluss will not provide a controversial issue for the Vienna Conference. The neutralisation of Austria will expand the "third area" in the world and strengthen the factors working for disarmament and "disengagement."

UNESCO appeals to Governments USE PRESS AND RADIO FOR PEACE

THE Director-General of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation sent a letter last month to the Governments of Member States of Unesco, drawing their attention to a resolution concerning the free flow of information, which was adopted by the Eighth Session of the Organisation's General Conference in Montevideo last November and December.

The resolution appeals to all who are concerned with the future of civilisation to encourage the use of press, radio, and films for the promotion of better relations among peoples, and thus to counteract their use for the purposes of propaganda either designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, or act of aggression.

Increased Aid for Arab Refugees

Unesco's Executive Board has voted an increase in aid of Arab Refugee schools.

Supporting the increase, Mr. R. W. van Dusen, a Dutch educator in charge of the school programme said that these schools represent "the biggest venture in international education undertaken by the United Nations."

MONEY TO BURN

DURING the "Hour of Magic" at the social gathering on the Saturday evening of the Peace Pledge Union Annual General Meeting, Frank Vibert borrowed a £1 note from one member and a cigarette from another. He then sealed up the note in an envelope, which he "accidentally" set on fire while lighting his cigarette. The cigarette would not draw, and the £1 note was found in place of the tobacco. It was returned to the member who had lent it, but he generously gave it back as a contribution to PPU funds.

If we cannot change the tobacco in a cigarette into a pound note, we can change your pound note and your cigarette into leaflets, posters, demonstrations, public meetings and all the other necessary means of propaganda.

We are issuing a special leaflet for free distribution during the election. We have issued an edition of "A Call to You" leaflet for widespread distribution, and reprinted "Who Will Defend Them?" We are co-operating with the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee in issuing a new leaflet on the need to renounce the H-bomb and all weapons of war, and in planning a nation-wide campaign, of which the demonstrations in Trafalgar Square and elsewhere on June 4 will be a part.

Nobody has money to burn, but everybody has some money they can spare for the cause of pacifism, which must come first with us if we are to seize the present opportunity.

Frank Vibert relied on having the £1 and the cigarette to do his trick. We must rely on your gifts. Please send up the £1 notes, and as many as possible, and if you cannot afford a pound note, the price of a cigarette or of a packet will be very welcome.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,000.
Amount received to date: £302.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

THAT WORD "PEACE"

It's debasement must be opposed at all cost —VERA BRITTAIN

Last week Peace News reported the opening sessions of the Peace Pledge Union Annual General Meeting held in Liverpool on April 16 and 17. Olwen Battersby concludes with a report of the session opened by Vera Brittain, author, PPU sponsor and member of the Board of Peace News Ltd; and of the resolutions debated on Sunday afternoon.

"IT all arose at a Peace News Directors' meeting out of that hardy annual, the title of Peace News," said Vera Brittain, explaining why she had chosen "Misrepresentations of Pacifism and their effect on the Pacifist Movement" as the subject for her speech. "I think it is absolutely essential that at this present moment we do not change it" she continued. "I hope we shall never change it."

The word "Peace" had suffered many vicissitudes. To quote Sybil Morrison (PN April 1).

"Peace, it would seem, no longer means a quiet state of mind, of harmony and concord with others, a tranquility of spirit, in which war and hatred could have no place; on the contrary like the word 'appeasement,' it has become degraded to mean a cringing, cowardly, traitorous surrender to the threats and menaces of a Dictator State."

Briefly she traced the history of the word. Peacemakers were reviled in World War I: Bertrand Russell had been dismissed from Cambridge as a pacifist; peace meetings had been broken up; attempts at a negotiated peace scorned. During the between-war period—for about 15 years—peace again became respectable; League of Nations Union platforms were crowded; war books urging peace boomed. Then came World War II: pacifism meant appeasement; peace meant gullibility; Gandhi the apostle of non-violence was thrown into prison by the British; pacifist offices were searched and pacifists identified with traitors.

"Fools and fascists"

Today the "fools and fascists" of that period have become identified with Soviet propaganda. "Peace" has become a "naughty word."

To those in India for the World Pacifist Conference who congregated for worship at Sevagram at Christmas 1949—men and women representing all the great religions of the world—"Peace" meant a great deal. In the world today it had become a political expedient changing its character according to its political setting.

This debasement of the world 'Peace' must be opposed at all costs: it is the chief weapon of our opponents, a subtle method of undermining those things for which we stood," she continued. It might be difficult for pacifists to live up to what we meant by peace, but the task for pacifists was to restore dignity to the word of peace and spiritual meaning to the fact of peace.

She welcomed the proposal made for a letter writing panel suggesting that someone with a feeling for the subtle meaning of words, possibly attached to the Campaign Committee of the Peace Pledge Union, be made responsible for organising such a panel, and that a press correspondent be attached to every group. The General Election would give opportunity to pacifists to seize that "turning of the tide" mentioned by the Editor of Peace News, clear away misunderstanding and misrepresentation, and put the full pacifist case.

The Press

Among the many suggestions on this subject, it was proposed that the PPU should advertise for the names of voluntary letter writers and organise such a panel; that members of the panel be contacted by telephone whenever misstatements in the press occurred, or where it was thought necessary that a correspondence already in the Press be continued.

The advice was given by Sybil Morrison that letters to the press should:

1. Say something nice about the newspaper;
2. Keep to one point only;
3. Never exceed 100 words.

Relying on this point Vera Brittain urged that whenever misrepresentation occurred in

one of the large national newspapers, not one but ten or a dozen letters be sent, from varying parts of the country calling attention to the error. If a large number of letters of this kind were ignored, then it might be possible to call in the assistance of the Press Council.

On the BBC

Frank Vibert asked if the movement might obtain publicity through the BBC.

On this point Stuart Morris reported that an approach had been made to the BBC on the issue of the Defence Paper; the reply received called attention to the broadcasting of Canon Raven in "The Christian Forum," and promised that in any future discussion on the Hydrogen bomb or atomic warfare an effort would be made to include all points of view.

Relying on this subject Vera Brittain said that she had tried and was trying, to obtain a televised talk on the life and work of Dick Sheppard to take place on a Dick Sheppard anniversary, and the inclusion of Dick Sheppard in a series of biographical profiles. These talks would, of course, include an account of the movement which he started.

Calling attention to the frequency with which pacifists were held in part responsible for the last war, Minnie Pallister asked whether a pamphlet might be published containing "twelve of the most damning quotations" as evidence of the fact that when many national newspapers were extolling Hitler, pacifists on the contrary were busy rescuing his victims.

Sybil Morrison supporting this suggestion said such a pamphlet was necessary also for our own education, particularly that of younger members.

Another misconception, said Harold Bing, Chairman of War Resisters' International, was that pacifists were "passive people," disliking violence, but unable to tackle the international, economic and social causes from which it sprung. Stress should be laid on the positive aspect of the movement.

The publication of an explanatory pamphlet, the use of badges, the right type of posters, and the use of shop windows were all methods proposed by which the true nature of pacifism might be revealed to the general public.

Removal of violence

Relying on this Vera Brittain thought groups might consider obtaining a shop window for a limited period—say one or two weeks—during the election period.

To conclude she emphasised that the Movement should not be concerned solely with military violence, but with its removal from education, the treatment of crime, and all other walks of life.

Alan Litherland proposed the following on behalf of Crosby group:

"That this AGM... believing that peace cannot be secured by preparing for war, and that real peacemaking must begin with a change of outlook, finding expression in the renunciation of military power, but being aware that this belief is shared at present only by a small minority of public opinion, earnestly appeals to all those concerned for peace, everywhere, at this most critical time, to make the promotion of such a change of outlook their central task, and not to neglect it in favour of particular projects which may seem more practicable or more immediately acceptable to public opinion."

He said that history would show that the renunciation of military power was essential for the survival of mankind. This was the message of the PPU. It was not an easy message to put across. There were other issues: the abolition of conscription, renunciation of the H-bomb, "War on Want," and the Third Way, which appeared more concrete, less im-

U.S. readers? you can do this to stop conscription!
WRITE A LETTER TO THE EDITOR of your newspaper, using one point from the leaflets obtainable from the National Council Against Conscription, 513 W. 166th St., New York 32, N.Y. Try to state your point in not more than 75 to 100 words; then

WRITE A LETTER TO YOUR OWN CONGRESSMAN. Ask him in your own words how much it would cost to provide military equipment for a compulsory Ready Reserve of three million men if the UMT Reserve Bill is adopted. Stress the idea that there would be no point in such a huge compulsory reserve if Congress doesn't intend to spend the billions needed to equip them. Tell him you hope he will send you a reliable estimate on the cost of this programme.

EDUCATE YOUR FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS. Very few of them know what the Bill in Congress provides. The leaflets are easy to read and understand. Insert one in letters you send out. Send one to your Congressman. Give one to your minister or priest, a professor, other public opinion leaders.

possible. But these were aims of secondary importance, and though good in themselves, their promotion could well be left mainly in the hands of non-pacifists.

There was a large measure of agreement with this view, members feeling that the pacifist's first concern was not with individual issues of international tension, of which he might know little, but rather with the method of resolving these tensions.

Wilfred Wellock, who had recently returned from America said that though the renunciation of militarism was our central theme, we could achieve this only by a radical change in our economic system, our way of life, and our sense of values.

Eisenhower had promised to the American people a substantial increase in their standard of living. To honour this promise he must appropriate to America fifty per cent of the world's raw materials and all her main markets.

The motion was carried by a substantial majority.

Boys in the Army

"Boys over 15 years of age who are in the Junior Services, should have the same chance to become conscientious objectors as the boys serving National Service."

This resolution submitted by the Lancaster group met with no opposition, though members wished it had been a resolution calling for "the abolition of the whole wicked business."

"This Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union approves HM Government's action in trying to bring an early peace settlement in Kenya by offering reasonable surrender terms to members of the Mau Mau resistance movement and urges the Government to:

1. Keep open the surrender terms as long as possible;
2. Resist the desire of many of the white settlers to base a peace on revenge;
3. Make it quite clear that it intends to base the future policy of Kenya on social and economic justice for the native population, including greater facilities for land settlement and political advancement."

The strong opposition to this resolution, presented by Marjorie Jones for Oxford Group, centred mainly on section 1. The surrender terms, members felt, were not unlike those offered by the Allies to Germany in 1945: unconditional surrender. It was true that Mau Mau chiefs might not be hanged, but they would be banished for life from their country, their wives and their children, deprived permanently of liberty, and used for cheap labour.

The Peace Pledge Union could not possibly pass a resolution which appeared to give approval to the British Government's Policy in regard to Kenya.

By Hugh Brock

Service Unit in East End Hospital . . .

Michael Tippett, new Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union records in "Who's Who" that he was "sent to prison for three months as a conscientious objector, June 3, 1943."

Alex Comfort states that he "refused military service in war of 1939-45."

FOR YOUTH

THE Pacifist Youth Action Group are distributing a Peace Pledge Union leaflet which tells young men about their right to register as conscientious objectors.

A four-page folder, it carries a picture on the front of an Italian war-resister who has refused the call-up being taken to prison.

The leaflet puts the issue clearly:

"A nation cannot get peace by preparing for war. You will have to choose between peace and war by the time you are called up . . . The best national service is to refuse to prepare for war. This means becoming a conscientious objector, and some people believe this to be cowardly, but it is surely more courageous to do what you believe to be right than to follow the crowd."

Copies of the leaflet are obtainable from PPU Headquarters, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

UNSUNG IN AFRICA

SUZANNE STEPHEN writes from S. Africa that the centenary of Olive Schreiner, distinguished South African writer, pacifist and humanitarian received scant recognition in her home country.

A commemoration meeting called by the Liberal Party was addressed by Alan Paton, S. Africa's greatest contemporary writer, Father Trevor Huddleston, courageous Anglican opponent of race discrimination, Julius Lewin, Lecturer on African Affairs at the University of Witwatersrand, and Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, Native Representative in the South African Parliament, and tribute was paid in a series of excellent articles appearing in the magazines "Forum" and "New Age". Otherwise little or nothing appeared.

Airmailed supplies of the Air Edition of Peace News' Olive Schreiner Centenary Number were much appreciated by those who received them.

PACIFISTS ADMITTED

ON the general situation in S. Africa, Suzanne Stephen writes of the increasing difficulty in alleviating the racial situation.

It has never been easy to hire halls for mixed meetings; now, as new licences are issued colour bar regulations are added. Europeans must get permission to enter Native Locations, though this is normally granted to

Souks and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation because the authorities are still sensitive to criticism both in their own liberal press and, especially, from overseas.

The police are becoming increasingly ruthless and brutalised as they receive greater powers and can ill-treat and arrest Africans on the most trivial charges.

IN "WHO'S WHO"

PROFESSOR A. N. TUCKER, who

will be on the "Any Questions"

panel at Hastings on May 7, is one of a company of pacifists who make it quite clear in "Who's Who" where they stand.

From the half column which he occupies in that August volume, I learn that he has been Professor of East African Languages at London University since 1951.

Born in Cape Town, he has served the Sudan Government as Linguistic Expert for non-Arabic languages. "Who's Who" continues:

"Joined staff of School of Oriental Studies, 1932; Linguistic Research in S. Sudan and S. Africa on International African Institute Fellowship, 1932-33; Dinka Orthography unification for Sudan Government, 1938. Conscientious Objector during war of 1939-45: foundation member of Peace Pledge Union; served in Pacifist

IT HAS

MY generation was blighted by the second World War. It was not merely that the slaughter and misery inherent in war was intensified; nor even that, this time, they fell more upon helpless women and children than on fighting men. The sickness at the heart of our generation comes from the knowledge that mankind, so cultured and so infinitely accomplished, could yet plan and inflict such calculated atrocities as those of the concentration camps—be they Fascist or Communist.

In our days millions of people have been done to death in cold blood, of set purpose and without compassion. After that, many of us will go through the rest of our lives haunted by the knowledge that whatever we may find of love, beauty or laughter, mankind is also capable of unspeakable evil such as our forefathers would have believed impossible. For the rest of our lives we can never quite escape from the feeling that we skate on thin ice that covers a yawning abyss.

THE GERMANS KNEW

How were these sickening horrors perpetrated? We can understand the mental illness of sadism, and the fact that a handful of insane people could do things from which all decency shrinks. But how did great and cultured nations like Germany and Japan allow unspeakable tortures to be committed in their name? The Germans knew enough to blanch at the mention of Dachau.

These questions will loom up again and again in the mind of the thoughtful reader of CALLED UP, Edited

HAPPENED HERE

"CALLED UP" is a more subtle and devastating book than '1984' though they both tell a similar tale

and with an introduction by Peter Chambers and Amy Landreth (Allan Wingate. 10s. 6d.) a book which gives the personal experiences of sixteen National Servicemen, told by themselves.

It starts with a remarkably complacent introduction by the Editors, who would explain that all our anxieties are needless, but who do not seem to realise the enormity of some of their own statements.

"In the pages of this book, you will read of two cases of suicide, one attempted suicide and one case of insanity. It should not therefore be deduced that there is a high rate of suicide among National Servicemen. The figures are not available, but we doubt if there are proportionately as many suicides in the Army as there are in the University of Oxford."

As if one did not know that the Oxford figures are quite abnormally high. Or again,

"A fair amount of boisterous ragging goes on, but with a single exception, we came across no case of bullying among National Servicemen. (You may be bullied by your NCO, of course. That goes without saying) . . . In principle the Army tries to avoid posting its National Servicemen too near their homes, especially during recruit training, since home influence has an upsetting effect on morale . . . The moral climate of Service life tends to impel the soldier towards sexual adventures, and if he leaves the Army unexperienced in this field, then it is likely to be for moral or psychological reasons, not for lack of opportunity."

The accounts themselves are vivid and well-written.

They carry the reader to Korea, Malaya, the Canal Zone. They give the story of a man who was taught to read and write in the Army. They include a contribution by Gabriel Newfield who, after serving as a Sergeant in the Royal Army Medical Corps, became a conscientious objector when called up as a Reservist, was considerably treated and served 96 days detention in camp, ultimately being vindicated by the Advisory Tribunal.

Taken as a whole they are strong meat, showing a life that is coarse and crude. They depict the average soldier as interested primarily in copulation, beer, and the avoidance of work (in that order). At the same time they convey a powerful sense of that dearly-prized camaraderie of men pulling together in adversity and determined to make the best of a bad job.

BULLYING

While all these accounts are diverse in many ways, they have one thing in common. The first six weeks. It is in this period that bullying NCOs are taught to break independent young spirits to conform to Army discipline. "You've got six weeks here," said the sergeant to one bunch of recruits; "We could get on very well together." Pause for effect. "If we don't get on well, this is going to be six weeks of hell for you—you'll wish you'd never been born . . . We'll get on well all right if you do exactly what the Corporal and myself tell you to do." It is the same story again and again. Often the NCOs prove human and friendly later on, and the whole regime changes for the better—provided, of course, that the recruit has knuckled under absolutely. No wonder that another contributor sums it up: "I found that if you did what you were told like the average person, you didn't have much trouble. But if a person tries to go against the Army, it's like hitting his head against a brick wall."

BRAINWASHING

And that, of course, is exactly what these first six weeks are intended to produce. The incessant nonsense of blanccoing webbing and polishing buttons has the same underlying purpose. Of course, these things could be made of permanently white plastic or of untarnishable shine. But spit and polish not only fills in the idle time of soldiering; it impresses upon the man that however silly and unnecessary your task, you must do just what you're ordered to do. Yours not to reason why. Thus the crack regiments (which, one might think, could be spared this nonsense) have still more of this "bull", with a regulation stance in which to blancco one's kit; for their men must be still more like unthinking automata.

All this is what makes CALLED UP a more subtle and devastating book than "1984", though they both tell a similar tale. Not only does the state bend the conscript to its will; it sends him away proud and happy that he has done his duty. Yet we dare to write with scorn of "brain-washing" by other systems! In a world already equipped for push-button extermination, there is little relevance in the nations continuing to call up millions of young men. It is not done to conscript bodies, but to dragon minds. Field Marshal Montgomery blew the gaff when he declared that he wanted conscription because it would yield "a nation accustomed to the word of command." When we have that, there is nothing to stop us having Big Brother—or Dachau in England's green and pleasant land.

A. J. B.



IN NEW YORK, THOUSANDS ARE CROWDING TO SEE

The Family of Man Exhibition

From a Correspondent

THE human face, they say, is "the masterpiece of God." In New York right now people are crowding in thousands every day to see this masterpiece in all its manifold registrations.

A huge photographic exhibition, "The Family of Man," at the Museum of Modern Art, portrays in simple powerful language the magic, the wonder, the frailty and the grandeur of our common humanity.

Typists, mothers, mechanics, children, lovers come to stare at typists, mothers, mechanics, children and lovers. The story of their race, their black, brown and white race, their short, fat and tall race as they are dragged protest-

ing from their mother till they lie unstirring in their ultimate repose is told to them here.

Edward Steichen, who conceived and executed the exhibition, is obviously a great man. He is a great photographer, a great artist, a great human being. From over a million pictures culled from every part of the world he has selected these magnificent examples of the camera art.

Man is shown in all his moods; his failures and his prowess are revealed. Love, inhumanity, compassion, fear, joy, pride, boredom, passion, enlightenment, meanness, creation and destruction, fidelity and anger—they are all there for men to see and wonder in.

The exhibition is "dedicated to the dignity of man." It is displayed with dignity and appeal, on walls of nylon and black board, in grottos, on the ceiling, the floor, suspended from the roof in unfamiliar group arrangements; the whole thing has imagination and delight.

His plight today

So absorbed do you become in the everlasting story of man's struggle with the earth and with himself that you forget the special plight in which he finds himself today. At the very end of the exhibition, when you are filled with a great sentiment of sympathy, of that large heartedness for the whole silly, glorious bunch of your kind, you are stopped up short against a black wall. On it at the bottom is written a quotation from Bertrand Russell, that we may now have reached the stage where all this can be wiped out.

The effect is staggering. You turn away to the next exhibit, immediately to the right. It is a series of faces—men and women—of all kinds and conditions and lands. As you look, and contemplate, you see another face—your own. Cleverly obscured by the black wall is a dark mirror. Everyone who looks on this gallery of threatened humanity will see himself



Top left: "Compassion" (Margaret Bourke-White, Life). Above: "Face of a soldier" (David Duncan, Life).

ing from their mother till they lie unstirring in their ultimate repose is told to them here.

You begin to get the point of the exhibition. But that is not all. Moving disconcertedly away from that awful looking-glass you turn into a corridor. The end wall is full of a single picture of a dead soldier, in this case an American soldier. Above it is the question Sophocles posed: "Who is the victim and who the slayer?—speak."

The last picture is a massive one in colour, of the bursting hydrogen bomb at Bikini. It is shown on a translucent screen in a room of darkness. You are alone with it, and your thoughts.

It is well to remember that this exhibition is having its premier in the United States, here at the heart of its culture in this most celebrated modern art museum in the world. It will shortly go on tour in the US. Then perhaps the world will see it. The time was never more appropriate.

I REPUDIATE WAR

"The weapons of the third world war will not be discriminating weapons. They will be weapons of mass murder, aimed especially at non-combatant life. To say that we must in certain events be prepared to use such weapons in order to defend our "Christian values" is rank blasphemy. Doubtless, Communism is an evil thing, but not more evil than the sin of mass-murder or preparation for it."

The simple ethical attitude which any Christian man of nation should adopt is this: "I will under no circumstances be an accomplice in a policy of mass murder, and, whether the enemy takes advantage of the situation or not, I repudiate war as an instrument of national policy, since war is now in its essence a mechanism of mass murder."

—Joseph Johnston, Ex-Senator in Eire Parliament, Irish Times, February 2.

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3 Blackstock Road, London N.4.

Jessie Hughan PIONEER PACIFIST IN U.S.A

By Jim Peck

THE death of Jessie Wallace Hughan, a pioneer of the pacifist movement in the United States, on April 10, at the age of 79, was briefly reported in Peace News last week. Despite failing health and weakened eyesight, right until the end she took an active part in the War Resisters' League, which she helped to found 32 years ago.

Jessie's pacifist activities date back to 1915 when she helped to establish the Anti-Enlistment League, first US organisation to enrol war resisters. In this effort she received the support of John Haynes Holmes and Tracy D. Mygatt.

When, that autumn, leading Christian pacifists were brought together during a visit by Harry Hodgkin, British Quaker, the American Fellowship of Reconciliation was formed with Jessie a charter member.

At the end of World War I, there existed no US counterpart to the war-time British Non-Conscription Fellowship, which enrolled men and women of differing political and religious beliefs who refused to support war. This issue was discussed at several conferences of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and in 1922 Jessie was authorised to form a Committee for Enrolment Against War.

By 1923 the movement of European war objectors had taken the form of the War Resisters' International and the Fellowship was urged to establish an enrolment organisation which would extend beyond its boundaries. Jessie secured the co-operation of the Fellowship in calling together representatives of other pacifist groups including the Women's Peace Union and Women's Peace Society and thus the War Resisters' League came into being.

During the twenties, a period of prosperity with no war on the horizon, building up the League was difficult. Yet Jessie went about making speeches and enlisting young Socialists and Christians.

In the early 1930s she encouraged pacifists and non-pacifists to participate in no-more-war parades which might not have taken place without her persistence. After 1938 she helped organise the United Pacifist Committee.

Constantly she sought to find a common ground on which pacifists of varying opinions could unite, thus reducing intra-organisational strife to a minimum. Also, she made a practice of remaining in the background—not through false modesty—but to make sure that the League would not be smeared as a woman-run organisation.

By 1940 when conscription was enacted, Jessie had already laid the groundwork for CO counselling. She was the first in the League to press for payment of COs and led opposition to the Civilian Public Service camps where the objectors worked without remuneration.

In her capacity as high-school English teacher, she organised in 1940 the Pacifist Teachers' League, whose members took the position of refusing to register draftees. She had been a member of the teachers' union since 1923.

In addition to her pacifist activities, Jessie was also an active Socialist, having been a candidate for numerous public offices including New York secretary of state and lieutenant-governor and US senator.

She was also a poet and a prolific writer on pacifism, socialism and world government. Her books include: "The Challenge of Mars and Other Verse," "American Socialism of the Present Day" and "A Study of International Government." She also wrote many pamphlets for the League.

Caroline Uri

Only a week before Jessie Wallace Hughan died in New York, another veteran pacifist, Caroline Foulke Uri passed away in Cleveland, at the age of 81. Her late husband was a retired naval officer.

Although partially paralysed, Caroline remained active until her death and on occasion, despite great physical difficulty, participated in pacifist picket demonstrations.

She gained considerable publicity in 1949 when she helped initiate the Tax Refusal Committee of Peacemakers, a group pledged to refuse to pay US income taxes because such a large percentage is spent for weapons of war.

Instead, Caroline turned over the tax money to pacifist organisations. In letters to President Truman and the Bureau of Internal Revenue explaining her refusal to pay taxes, Caroline said: "I am fulfilling the responsibility implicit in the judgment rendered by the representatives of my government at the German and Japanese war trials, that an individual is obligated to refuse participation in crimes against humanity."

Alex Wood Memorial Lecture

The Reconciling Spirit and the Economic Order, by Charles F. Carter, c8vo. 18 pp and cover (Fellowship of Reconciliation, Is. 6d.). This is the text of the fourth annual Alex Wood Memorial Lecture. The author believes that "reconciliation" must be thought of in a context much wider than the prevention of international quarrels, and seeks to consider some of the things which Christians may be led to say or do about the economic order in which we live. He hardly gets to grips with the problems that worry most people, and seems to realise it himself when writes, "Please do not think that this adds up to a plan for leaving things as they are. But it is a plea that we should mistrust the simple solution . . ." T. R. D.

"STOP THE TESTS"

Paramount questions on election platforms

—MICHAEL FOOT

IFF Julius Caesar had used atomic weapons when invading this country, we should today be facing their maximum effect" said Dr. Barnett Stross, MP (Lab. Stoke-on-Trent), Vice-President of the Socialist Medical Association, at a meeting entitled "Stop the Tests" organised by the Union of Democratic Control in London last week.

He had been asked to speak on "the remote effects of radiation"; we already knew the more immediate after-effects from our friends in Japan—and horrible they were.

"It is a fact that any increase in radiation background means an increase in the rate of genetic change," he explained, "and most changes are bad changes." Mutation of genes caused by the increase of radiation would cause recession which might not show for a couple of thousand years—idiocy, dwarfism, a cancer affecting the eye, might all result.

It was estimated that when an atomic or hydrogen bomb were dropped, the number of deaths resulting from radiation over a period of two thousand years, was roughly equal to those caused at the time of the explosion itself.

Sir John Cockcroft had said that there would have to be an opportunity for further and more extensive research before any conclusions could be reached. "We can not wait for conclusions," he continued. "The effect of radioactivity is cumulative and irreversible."

At last the doctors were beginning to speak: two leading medical journals had published leaders on the subject. The current "Medical Press" had stated that those who contemplated nuclear warfare were more suited to Broadmoor than to the legislative councils of the world. We had to work and talk together, or dig a common grave for all mankind.

The most sinister aspect of this whole matter, said Michael Foot, MP (Lab. Devonport), was that we owed our knowledge to "an accident", a miscalculation on the part of experts. Such matters must not be left to "experts"; they must be controlled by statesmen responsible to the people.

Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, in a televised interview "which should be shown on every screen

in the country," had stated that the secrecy which surrounded the operations of scientists was a scandal a menace to science, to freedom, and to the tackling of world problems in a same and serious manner.

Over and over again it had been said, "If only Russia would show one sign of good faith—if, for example, she would conclude an Austrian treaty." She had concluded an Austrian treaty this last week. Why then did we wait? The Russians had their fears in regard to the atomic age; so had we. Out of a common fear, we might be able to breed a common faith.

"Whether the government like it or not," he concluded, "and whether the newspapers report it or not, the hydrogen bomb and the atomic tests are going to be the paramount questions on all election platforms during the coming month."

C.D. Chairman's advice

Mr. M. J. Moore, M.Sc., member of the British Scientific Mission to the USA on Atomic Energy, after quoting many facts and figures to show the extent of damage caused by atomic explosions concluded:

"It may sound cynical, but there is only one defence: don't be there . . . I am Chairman of a Civil Defence organisation, with 320 volunteers. They do not know where they are going; I do not know where they are going; it is a little hard on volunteers, if their chairman does not know where they are going."

In reply to a question at the conclusion of the meeting Dr. Stross said that while he did not believe that radiation had affected the weather, it was possible for a thin layer of radioactive dust to lie upon crops, which if eaten would cause painful death.

April 29, 1955—PEACE NEWS—5

Mrs Roosevelt gets "One World" appeal

ACKNOWLEDGING the whole wide world as a country, and its conglomeration of people as one nation, Jeanne Gevaert, a Belgian, has written to Mrs. Roosevelt in New York, enclosing her World Patriotic Manifesto.

The declaration reads:

"We have raised the Banner of One United World, the only Banner to which we owe allegiance, for only the Nation, the People of the World, is sovereign."

"Never and nowhere has the Sovereign Nation of the World delegated, and never and nowhere will the Sovereign Nation of the World delegate, the 'right' to do any of these misdeeds:

"To set 'Nation' against 'Nation,' man against man, and even child against child.

"To frustrate man's productive efforts by turning them into devilish works of destruction.

"To create permanent 'emergencies' as a pretext for ever-increasing taxation, exploitation, oppression and intimidation.

"To devise 'bigger and better' monster plans for the 'well-being, freedom and security of the people'—with the only result of universal misery, slavery and insecurity.

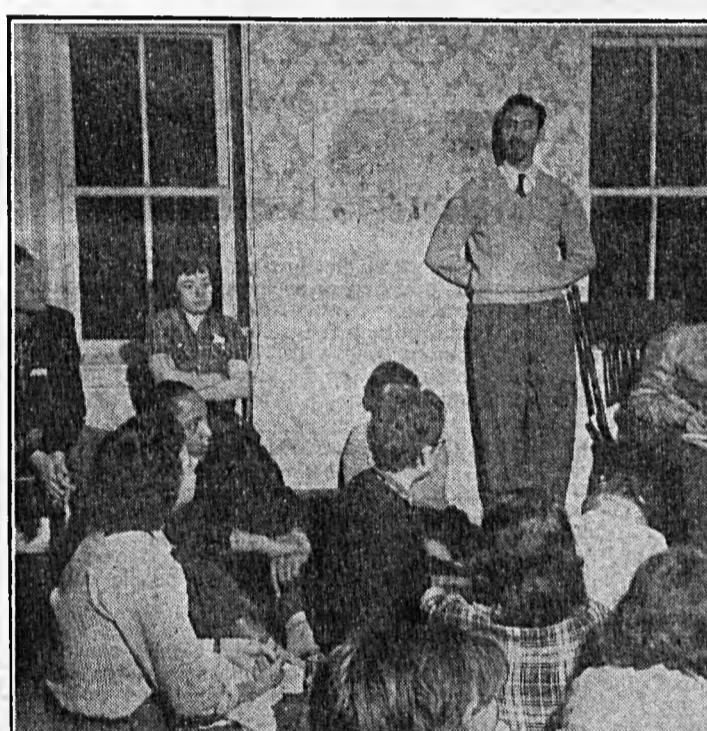
"To rob men, women and children of their sacred Human Rights and of their pursuit of happiness.

"To rob the Sovereign Nation of the World of its indisputable sole right to decide on world affairs, by usurping this right and vesting it in the governments of so-called 'National States'.

"To 'freeze' the living and creative force of Parliamentary Democracy, in that some seventy 'sovereign statesmen', holding either no mandate whatsoever (in those parts of our Fatherland where dictators make free elections impossible on any level) or holding, in the best cases, a strictly limited mandate based on 'national' elections only—withdraw from the Nation of the World the right to hold elections to a World Parliament, the only Parliament competent and entitled to deal with world affairs."

Jeanne Gevaert is a member of a well-known Belgian family devoted to the cause of World Government.

TOM WARDLE AT OPENING OF NEW U.S. PEACE CENTRE



TOM WARDLE, of Peace News staff, gave a thought provoking leadership to a packed house at Woolman Dale's opening seminar on Africa's Future.

From New York, Philadelphia and the surrounding countryside people of many nationalities and races descended on the Pennsylvania Deutsch farm in the rolling hills near Allentown to spend a weekend at the new Peace Builders' Centre listening to talks, discussing and, later eating a Nigerian supper. Six students from various parts of Africa described

the conditions in their country and with exceptionally open frankness told what they thought must be done to achieve independence.

Tom Wardle pointed out that the Western power bloc has a vested interest in an Africa inseparably tied to the cold war. The fear of losing many essential raw materials and other economic advantages which might result from African independence tremendously complicates the question of the freedom struggles.

"Only when we can stop the cold war," Tom Wardle pointed out, "can we hope to

make real progress towards loosening the grip of the western powers over most of Africa."

Since Woolman Dale, on principle, has no paid staff every one pitched into the work and soon many strangers became one happy family, cooking, washing dishes, making beds and even bringing hay from the barn to accommodate the overflow crowd—twice the number expected.

The great success of the first seminar left everyone amazed. One Negro participant said she had never seen African students speak so openly and frankly to a large white audience in all her work for African understanding. Some of the Africans expressed the view that it was one of their happiest weekends in the USA and participants from different regions are meeting together to discuss further action.

Another outgrowth of the seminar is a bi-weekly study group on non-violence for students from several colleges near Woolman Dale.

Woolman Dale was named after John Woolman, the famous anti-slavery Quaker who earned his living with his hands, and humbly walked through many parts of the American Colonies and England teaching brotherhood for Negroes and American Indians. His example of practical service for peace is the ideal. Woolman Dale wishes to foster through its folk school programme with informal educational programmes of increasing duration. Eventually there will be regular three months summer courses, combining talks and discussions with farm work and other community industries making free scholarships available to most all students. Inquiries are welcomed from those interested in seminars or in working on the staff on a community living basis. Address: Bob Luitweiler, Star Route, Limeport, Pa.

Photos: Top left: Tom Wardle (standing) leads discussion. Right: In centre facing camera is Ada Amadi, who prepared the Nigerian supper.

COLD WAR NEWS BRIEFS

A British note to China, protesting strongly against accusations made by the Chinese after the loss of an Indian Constellation air liner bound for Bandung was published on April 17, and makes it clear that Britain does not accept any responsibility for the accident.

General Kim Hung Il, the South Korean Ambassador to Nationalist China, said on April 13 that South Korea "if necessary will take military action against the enemy in the North if general war flares up in the Formosa Strait, since the Korean Communists have violated the truce agreements."

President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles discussed

on April 17, "the grave implications of an extensive build-up now in progress by the Chinese Communists of offensive air power on the China mainland opposite Formosa."

A group of 88 Japanese who returned from ten years of captivity in the Soviet Union on April 18 said that hundreds of prisoners had been killed in riots in Soviet prison camps during 1953 and 1954.

The State Department, Washington, on April 16 announced with "regret" that the visit of eleven Soviet student newspaper editors to America had been cancelled by Moscow after the students had objected to having their finger prints taken, as required by the United States immigration laws.

Admiral Robert B. Carney, United States Chief of Naval Operations, said on April 18, that 25 per cent. of America's Army ground strength was deployed in Europe and the Air Force had forces from Greenland to North Africa. If the Atlantic sea chain was broken "NATO and the security of the Western hemisphere would be gravely imperilled."

President Eisenhower, on April 14, asked Congress to advance "the struggle against Communist domination" by approving United States membership in a new 34 nation organisation for world trade.

The War Office are purchasing 550 acres of land, seven miles from Harrogate, for use by the United States as a Wireless Station.

A fall in the Communist vote was the most interesting trend in the County Council elections held in France on April 17.

"**A**ustria will be free; we shall get our homeland back completely. Prisoners of war and other prisoners will see their homes again," Dr. Raab, Austrian Chancellor, said in a message from Moscow on April 14.

The dismissal of Imre Nagy as Prime Minister of Hungary was announced by the Budapest radio on April 18, six weeks after he had been publicly denounced as an "anti-Marxist".

The Commonwealth of World Citizens THE IDEAL OF A SERVANT NATION

Peace News Correspondent

TO acquaint the readers of Peace News with the activities and programme of a Peace enterprise world-wide in scope, which has no exact parallel, I must go back to the years immediately preceding the war, when the idea of the Commonwealth of World Citizens was first conceived.

It began as an answer to power-politics and the Master-race doctrine.

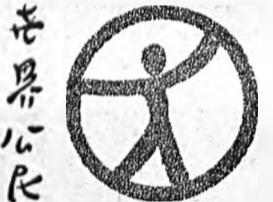
It appeared that the curse of our time was a wide-spread lust for mastery and domination. To wish to be a servant no longer appealed. Yet surely one part of the solution of our problem lay in re-activating the principle of Service: what was required was the advent of a Servant-Nation, a people to serve,

This people could have no weapons or armaments, no territory to defend. As the Servants of Humanity the citizens of this Commonwealth could never participate in war, never engage in hostile propaganda, never be parties to international disputes, never exercise discrimination on grounds of colour, race or creed.

Their strength would lie in their complete weakness. No one would have cause to be afraid of them, and they would be universally trusted by men and nations. They would not call upon States to disarm but would engage in co-operative service for the welfare of all. They themselves would set the example: they would be the guinea pigs of their own experiment in

IDENTITY CARD

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World Citizen's identity card

world unity, mediating and reconciling, assisting backward peoples, reclaiming deserts, pioneering the conversion of all resources to peaceful and beneficial purposes.

Such was the idea and the ideal. To carry out such a plan would require long and careful study, historical, political, sociological and even legal. For ten years, from 1940 to 1950, a small group engaged in this study so that when the plan was put into operation it would be known exactly what had to be done, and how. But already in 1944 the Allied and neutral governments were advised of the intention to form the new people, and most peace organisations were made aware of the plan. But initially general publicity was not thought advisable.

Citizenship

On November 11, 1950 began the building of the Commonwealth of World Citizens.

It is essential to realise that the Commonwealth of World Citizens was not a movement or society with members or supporters. It was the genesis of a People with its own citizens, who had voluntarily applied for such World Citizenship—rating higher than national citizenship and representing loyalty to all mankind. No one would be, or could be, asked to join. At the beginning there was not even printed literature.

By 1952 there were citizens in 14 countries. A symbolic flag of the Commonwealth had been approved, and Esperanto adopted as the primary language. The Commonwealth had also received the gift of a small plot of ground at Delphi in Greece. In November 1952 a Civil World Aid organisation was formed at Stockholm mainly at first for humble duties as care of the aged and down-and-outs. A commission was now in being to draft the preliminary text of the unique political constitution of the Commonwealth, whereby its general structure was envisaged, and the manner in which the Commonwealth would function from a series of extra-territorialised centres in different parts of the world.

Some evidence may here be given that the Commonwealth of World Citizens did not employ the word "service" in a vague sort of way. Help was given to peoples within the immediate capacity of the citizens, such as service to Holland during the floods, to Greece during the earthquake disaster, contributions were made for famine relief in India and to assist the work of UNICEF.

By the summer of 1954 the Commonwealth

had citizens in every Continent and in 25 countries. A second Assembly had been held in London, and the first draft of the Constitution had been completed and circulated. A second draft is now in preparation, embodying the comments of the citizens and will be published during the present year. It declares that "The Commonwealth of World Citizens is the sum total of persons holding its citizenship at any given time, without regard for colour or ethical origin. In its political expression it is a free and self-governing people and world community."

Constitution

The Constitution opens with a statement of Principles, of which the first five are as follows:

1. The Commonwealth of World Citizens acknowledges none as enemies, no matter what they may do; for to admit the existence of an enemy is to create a barrier, darkening understanding, breeding hatred, and giving encouragement and licence to cruelty and inhumanity;
2. Recognises none as foreigners, or of a lower dignity, since all belong to the human race. There shall be identical treatment of those outside the Commonwealth as of those within it, treatment that is founded on reverence for the human personality;
3. Shall ever promote and actively assist measures for the welfare and equitable unification of mankind, and shall at all times respond to the extent of its ability to calls for aid in emergency or catastrophe;
4. Neither the Commonwealth, nor any of its citizens, shall under any circumstances engage in war or in preparation for war, or in violence, oppression, or wilful misrepresentation. The Commonwealth shall ever hold itself free from all alliances, agreements, and contractual obligations, whether open or secret, which can have the effect of favouring any group, party, section, or State, or any interests whatsoever, to the hurt or detriment of any others;
5. Shall study to be impartial and humane in all its relations and judgments, and shall

labour in the cause of mediation and reconciliation.

**LESLIE HALE, MP, writes from France about
World Government in Provence**

Signposts of "mondialisation"

PROVENCE is now surely at its most beautiful period. The gardens are gay with early English summer flowers; the plane trees and olives in luxuriant foliage; the vines, which in their neatly ordered ranks, looked so dead a week or two ago, are sprouting into tender leaf; multi-coloured butterflies are to be seen everywhere, lizards slip swiftly over the roadside stones, and frogs of an iridescent green croak loudly like politicians. The fruit trees are in blossom, flowering shrubs of varying hues colour the landscape, and the dreaded mistral blows only with the gentleness of a zephyr.

Here and there along these lovely country roads we come upon a sign in which a plain white circle is surrounded with all the colours of the spectrum. This is the symbol of "Mondialisation," the formal declaration by a township that it adheres to the principle of World Government, confers the benefit of citizenship upon people of all races and accepts the brotherhood of man.

CRITICISM

When my friend Sarrazac commenced his work for Mondialisation some years ago many criticised it as an extravagant and empty gesture. Provence has certainly taken it seriously and 170 townships have now formally proclaimed their adherence to the principle.

On Good Friday our friends M. and Mme Volpeliere conducted my wife and me on a visit to some of these townships. We first visited Redessan where M. le Maire and members of the Council received us formally in the room which is devoted not merely to Council business but to the celebration of marriages. It was deeply moving to find in this Provencal village, which had been the second in France to erect with due ceremonial its symbol of Mondialisation, a genuine internationalism which will certainly have its part in the education of the children there.

At Vezenobres, one of those immensely beautiful French villages on a lovely hillside, which seems to have escaped the attention of the tourist, we had time to ascend the hill and to survey the beauties of the vast mountain-girt plain before visiting the Town Hall for the formal reception. The building was decorated with the flags of Britain and France and we were received most cordially by M. le Maire and Council. After the reception I tried to answer a series of most able questions on international and colonial affairs. Next we visited Gajan, a wine-growing village which has its own co-operative wine cellar where the whole process of crushing the grape and extracting and storing the juice is conducted on behalf of all the growers.

Nothing is more remarkable than the industry of the French peasant. Throughout Provence we have seen the small plots of land of

U.S. MILITARY EXPENDITURE

These tables have been compiled by Albert Bofman, Editor of Peacedom Digest, Chicago.

| "US Government" Expenditures | Yearly (billions of dollars) | | | Weekly (per family of 4) | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------|------|--------------------------|-------|-------|
| | 1938 | 1950 | 1956 | 1938 | 1950 | 1956 |
| WAR Preparations ... | ... | 1 | 18 | 41 | \$61 | 19.14 |
| Past Wars ... | ... | 1 | 12 | 11 | .61 | 5.00 |
| TOTAL WAR COSTS ... | 2 | 30 | 52 | 1.22 | 15.25 | 24.14 |
| Non-War Expenditures ... | 5 | 10 | 10 | 3.08 | 5.00 | 4.46 |
| All "US Government" Costs ... | 7 | 40 | 62 | 4.30 | 20.25 | 28.60 |
| WAR PREPARATIONS as % of All | 14% | 44% | 66% | | | |
| TOTAL WAR COSTS as % of All | 28% | 75% | 84% | | | |
| Non-War Costs as % of All | 72% | 25% | 16% | | | |
| Population—millions | 130 | 152 | 167 | | | |

The largest enterprise in the world, the Pentagon and 28,000 employees, direct almost 5 million military personnel:

| US Armed Forces | Jan. 1955 | April 1955 |
|---|-----------|------------|
| Civilian Employees of Armed Forces | 3,200,000 | 336,000 |
| Foreign Employees of Armed Forces, Abroad | 1,170,000 | 166,000 |
| | 341,000 | — |

TOTAL US Armed Forces ... 4,711,000 502,000

At least 1,370,000 GIs are stationed abroad in 950 bases in 50 countries and about 90% of the Defense Department budget is for non-continental "defense." A smaller amount, Military Aid shipments to foreign nations (\$10.5 billion, Oct. 1949 to Dec. 31, 1954), included, among other items: 6,000 airplanes, 900 naval vessels, 200,000 transport vehicles, 36,000 tanks and combat vehicles, and billions of rounds of ammunition.

"COLD WAR" ARMS RACE: To date, the toll of this arms race afflicts every family in the USA in the amount of \$7,944, in the USSR in the amount of \$4,652.

| USA Defence Department Expenditure (a) | USSR Defence Department Expenditure (b) |
|--|---|
| billion dollars | billion dollars |
| per person | per person |
| 1946 ... 45 ... 321 | 1945 ... 27.6 ... 145 |
| 1947 ... 14 ... 98 | 1946 ... 14.4 ... 75 |
| 1948 ... 11 ... 76 | 1947 ... 13.1 ... 67 |
| 1949 ... 12 ... 81 | 1948 ... 13.1 ... 66 |
| 1950 ... 12 ... 80 | 1949 ... 15.8 ... 79 |
| 1951 ... 20 ... 131 | 1950 ... 19.8 ... 98 |
| 1952 ... 40 ... 258 | 1951 ... 24.0 ... 117 |
| 1953 ... 44 ... 278 | 1952 ... 28.5 ... 136 |
| 1954 ... 40 ... 249 | 1953 ... 27.5 ... 130 |
| 1955 ... 34 ... 210 | 1954 ... 25.0 ... 119 |
| 1956 ... 34 ... 204 | 1955 ... 28.0 ... 131 |
| TOTAL 1,986 | TOTAL 1,163 |
| Family of 4 7,944 | Family of 4 4,652 |

(a) Fiscal year ends June 30; (b) ends December 31.

The structure of the Commonwealth provides for a foundation on Communities of citizens in every part of the world, and in preparation for its Constitution—which is expected to take place before the end of 1956—these communities are now being formed wherever there are sufficient citizens. Communities have already been inaugurated in Holland and Belgium. Another is being formed in Vietnam, and still others will follow at short intervals elsewhere. Before the end of the present year the intake of citizens is expected to average not less than 50 a week.

Pledge

Each new citizen has to make application on a form provided which sets out his pledge, and he receives the World Citizen's Identity Card issued by the International Registry of World Citizens in Paris stamped with the seal of the Commonwealth. He is personally informed of his obligations and responsibilities.

In further preparation for Constitution a full-time Secretary General has now been appointed. He is Mr. Richard Blackmore, former Chief of Field Services (Italy, Austria and Western Germany) of the International Refugee Organisation of the UN and subsequently Acting UN representative to Jordan. The Secretariat of the Commonwealth has recently been removed to larger premises at 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, Kensington, W.8.

Third Assembly

The Commonwealth proposes to issue a series of White Papers on its character and functions which will be circulated to Governments and United Nations agencies. There will also be a Third Assembly held in London in September to set up the necessary Commissions for the Constituent Assembly, the seat of which has not yet been decided.

Such an article as this can give no more than an outline. Those who would like further information should write to the address given above (enclosing a stamped addressed envelope) for a free copy of "New Hope for a World at War."

DEEP SINCERITY

British readers would be very unwise to dismiss this process as pure symbolism or as something theoretical. If we commenced our journey not wholly free from cynicism we ended it very deeply moved. There was no doubt that the deep sincerity which animated those who had participated in these ceremonies. At each and every visit we found friends and established friendship which we hope will be enduring.

The movement has genuinely helped to light up amongst its supporters little candles capable of shedding their lights for great distances. This small movement is growing fast—next month the town of Uzes will formally declare its adherence at a ceremony to be attended by people from throughout France and from England. Nimes may follow.

The people of these villages feel that the sign of Mondialisation is the symbol of the politics of the symbol of the Cross. These people have made a gesture in favour of their attempt to change themselves and their outlook, which Albert Schweitzer has advocated, and their children will grow up in a purer atmosphere because of their efforts.

No Socialist is complete without

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Hurrah for the free world!

IN "Japan In The World Today" (*Home*), W. G. Beasley, Professor of History of the Far East in the University of London, gave an account of the Japanese dilemma in her search for a Foreign Policy independent of the USA.

The pointers are towards "normal relations with Russia (whose bargaining counters are fishing rights, prisoners of war and former Japanese occupied islands), and an answer to her economic difficulties by trading with China" but "fears are aroused in the West for the loss of an ally" (Save us from our friends!). Japan cannot exist without trade and cannot trade freely with the rest of the world. "Nationalism in Japan means anti-American . . . she cannot afford to offend America by withdrawing recognition from Chiang." Hurrah for the free world!

*

In "The World and Ourselves" (*Home*), Gold-Adams was in wonderful form;

"In order to go to the Afro-Asian Conference the Chinese Communists in spite of their boasting had to apply for transport manned by an Indian crew and an American made plane."

As the Chinese passengers were killed when the machine caught fire and crashed, we gather 'tis better to roast than boast. The complaint by the Chinese Government blaming the British Authorities for the calamity was because "the Chinese are looking for trouble to get us out of Hong Kong . . . an attack on Formosa will come . . . the Chinese might attack to embarrass us before the election (!) . . . Indonesia is behind the Conference to hide internal trouble."

Want any more? It sounds like a new parlour game by kind permission of Goold-Gracious—Adams!

*

We went "Catching a Tribe" (*Home*), with Audrey Butt, a young anthropologist who spent a year with the Akawaio tribe of Indians in the interior of British Guiana. For the very unsophisticated an ideal holiday! No need for etiquette, starched shirts, strapless gowns. A cheerful crowd, happy in common with other primitives, they know nothing of civilization, fraternal diplomatic notes, the joy of the threat of annihilation.

Food? "They hunt frogs from the mud, string them to carry and drop them uncleaned into hot water for five minutes (no charge to gourmets for this special recipe!) They adore stews; into the pot go hands and arms and the chase is on. It is fascinating to watch fish eyes glaring at one from the stew pot knowing the visitor will be regaled with these choice titbits."

There was constant speculation on the presence of a white lady among them. One old Don Juan who had already had fourteen wives—no, he had not eaten them—suggested she was looking for a husband (Aunt is now studying maps and writing to shipping offices).

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Saturday-Sunday, April 30-May 1
W. YORKS: Hollybrook Guest Ho., Queens Rd., Ilkley. Week-end School and House Party. Details, Ken Chadwick, 35 Berkeley Ave., Leeds, 8.

Saturday, April 30
BIRMINGHAM: 2.30-7.30 p.m.; Cambridge Street, 11 Cambridge St. John Fremantle, Physicist, Rev. Norman Power, Rev. P. Chamberlain, Ald. Watton, Victor Yates, MP, Kenneth Southall, "Humanity or the H." Conf. of Birmingham and District Citizens.

BRISTOL: 6.30 p.m.: Durden Downs, Open-air Mtg. "The Hydrogen Bomb." Bristol Peace Council.

LEYTONSTONE: 6.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Annual Reunion Concert, Bring and Buy Sale. PPU.

LONDON, W.11: 7.30 p.m.; IVSP Centre, 19 Pembroke Villas. Paul Wanda, "Uganda".

Sunday, May 1
GLASGOW: 2.30 p.m.; Queen's Park Rec. Ground. Open-air Mtg. Sybil Morrison, Campbell Wilkie, PPU, FoR, SoF.

LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; King's Weight Ho., Church, Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. Sta.) Peasant Universal Service. Discourse J. Allen Skinner, Editor, Peace News. PPU Religion Commission.

Every week!

SUNDAYS
HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.
GLASGOW: Open-air mtg. Queen's Park Gates, Victoria Rd. 7.45 p.m. Campbell Wilkie and Keith Bowes. Glasgow PPU.

TUESDAYS
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

FRIDAYS
EVERYWHERE, anytime, street-selling PEACE NEWS. Copies supplied "sale or return". Posters free. Send for your quota today to 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4. or collect from the steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square between 5.30 and 6.30 p.m.

LETTERS

The General Election

IT is good to see that Sir Richard Acland is not alone. It seems, indeed, that there is a wave of conscience telling peacemakers that they must use this machinery of democracy to bring the issues of the H-bomb and the armaments race before ordinary people. I am sure that your readers in many places have, like ourselves, been having almost sleepless nights over their desire to have a "third" candidate, and wondering how they could produce one—or if they have the courage and ability to be one.

What a pity we had not the time, or vision, to set up a sort of central bureau or clearing-house on the subject beforehand. May we take the Peace Pledge Union, with Peace News, as being in effect the bureau for these two precious weeks before nomination day? The factors to be co-ordinated are:

1. **Constituencies** having groups strongly wanting to support pacifist or anti-H-bomb candidates. We in Bedford are a small group but feel strongly that way. Others may be known to you already or may write in even after this.

2. **Willing and suitable candidates.** Are there any spare ones?

3. **Finance.** The time is so short to raise the money, yet there must be people who for this emergency would help in a substantial way. If they have no local candidate themselves, they could send to a central bureau.

4. **Help in election technique.** Advising on election addresses, and printing special leaflets, etc., in sufficient quantities in short enough time.

5. **Continuation.** It is unfortunate indeed that Richard Acland's stand has been somewhat drowned by the newspaper strike and then the general election. But from now on every by-election should be covered by a disarmament candidate, if only to keep the subject alive and to make a positive witness, regardless of the results.

RONALD RICE.

50 Adelaide Square, Bedford.

U.S. air bases

THE National Peace Council, in its leaflet "Weapons of Mass Destruction," demands that our Government "should not permit an attack with such weapons to be launched from British territory." The Women's International League have passed a resolution unanimously urging Her Majesty's Government to insist on "the removal of all American air bases and foreign military personnel from this country."

This question is obviously of almost equal importance with that of our own airmen using the H-bomb. Yet it is not specifically mentioned in Richard Acland's election address, nor in his last speech in Parliament.

"Jesus is my King, all men are my fellow-countrymen and all Christians are my family."

—BISHOP VERNON HERFORD

THE EVANGELICAL CATHOLIC COMMUNION

will hold its Sale in London during the Autumn

Further particulars to be given later

If you can help, by making anything for sale, or in other ways, please write to:—

The Rev. G. F. TULL, O.B., 101, Dalmally Road, Addiscombe, Surrey.

DIARY

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include Date, Town, Time, Place (full street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Monday, May 2-Friday, May 6
GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m.; Blythswood St. at Sauchiehall St. Open-air Mtg. Sybil Morrison, Campbell Bailey and others. SoF, PPU, FoR.

Wednesday, May 4
BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Broadweir. Plan public H-bomb protest. PPU group.

CAMBRIDGE: 8 p.m.; Emmanuel Church, Cambridge. Open Mtg. Rev. Alan Knott, B.Sc. "The Racial Conflict in South Africa." FOR.

LEIGH-ON-SEA: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Dundonald Drive. Frank Bailey of British Guiana, "The Struggle for Colonial Freedom." PPU; Society of Friends, SoF.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Mtg. Non-Violence Commission. PPU.

Thursday, May 5
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. A. Radcliffe, "Comics, Films and Fiction." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 5.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre. Wilfred Wellock, Dora Holden, J. Allen Skinner, and others. Tea-time discussion, "Pacifists and the Social Order."

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Wilfred Wellock, Sybil Morrison, J. Allen Skinner (Chair). Peace News Forum, "Pacifists and the General Election." PN Meeting.

Saturday, May 7
HASTINGS: 4.15 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., South Terrace. Tea and Bring-and-buy stall. 6 p.m. Minnie Pallister, Prof. Tucker, Hugh Brock, Philip Millwood, John Montague, "Any Questions." Area Mtg. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Business and Discussion meeting. Elfreda Barkshire, "Dr. Schweitzer." Visitors welcome. PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, May 9
BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m.; Central Hall, Old Market St. Fred Moorhouse, Asst. Sec. FoR, "Is the Individual helpless in a world of growing State power?" FoR.

CAMBRIDGE: 8.15 p.m.; Old Music Room, Richard Brown, David Ouvry, Dr. Max Walters, "Alternatives to National Service." FoR.

LONDON, E.4: 8 p.m.; Highams Park Baptist Church, Cavendish Rd. Rev. H. Ingl James, "Christians and the International Chaos." FoR.

REVIEW

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REVIEW

REVIEW</p

From page one

H-BOMB CANDIDATES

of the Labour Party in Luton, Eric Fenner, is to contest Battersea (London) as an independent pacifist if sufficient support is forthcoming.

Born 1917 at Smethwick, he served during World War II with the RASC and the RAF. He is a free lance writer and author. An Anglican, he is married with two daughters aged 9 and 7.

He writes from 14 Parkgate Road, London, S.W.11.:

"I have decided to contest Battersea at the forthcoming General Election as an Independent opposed to the manufacture of the Hydrogen Bomb. I feel that this country should take the lead in refusing to make it and thus set a real Christian example to the rest of the world. Both Russia and America would be certain to be influenced by such an example."

"Unfortunately, I am a poor man and need at least £250 to make a good fight of the election. I am opening an Election Fund at once and I appeal to your readers to send me any contributions they can, however small."

"This election may well be the last chance for the people to vote upon this terrible question and it is only by people such as Sir Richard Acland, John Loverseed, L. J. Cuming and myself offering themselves as Pacifists that this chance arises. I hope that others will come forward in all constituencies where all the main party candidates support manufacture of nuclear weapons."

"If sufficient members do come forward, I am prepared to convene a meeting of all Pacifist candidates in London in order to unite our cause and to show the main parties that we are a force to be reckoned with. We might even be able to command an election broadcast."

Opposing H-bomb

John Loverseed will not contest Hornsey as announced in Peace News last week. The Labour candidate, Mr. Lyn Mostyn, publicly declared this week that he will contest the seat on the H-bomb issue; he is against their

BANDUNG

* FROM PAGE ONE

He recalled a similar conference held in Brussels almost three decades ago where many of the delegates now in Bandung first met each other. He reminded the delegates that "colonialism is not dead" when vast areas of Asia and Africa are not yet free and when "colonialism has also its modern dress: economic and intellectual control."

Almost every speaker this first day stressed the need for world peace as well as for the end of colonialism. President Sukarno said that "the days are now long past when the future of Asia can be settled by other and distant peoples." He inferred a conference primarily of Asian powers on the future of Formosa by describing how the conference of Asian peoples in New Delhi in 1949 helped free Indonesia.

While much of the opening day was spent in closed session, working out matters of agenda, the greatest speech was given by Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon. This was devoted almost entirely to the problem of averting atomic war. Asserting that not one country represented at Bandung manufactures nuclear weapons, he said that "the strength of our weakness . . . is the ability which our very defencelessness confers to offer ourselves as mediators in the dispute between the giants of Communism and anti-Communism."

He said that "we here and now offer formally our services as mediators."

Also he called for radical revision of the UN at the coming charter revision conference, asserting that the UN today "no longer reflects the realities of world politics." Sir John hoped that a place could be found for "those peoples within the UN at least as associate members, for those who are still subject to colonial rule."

To abjure war

Since Asia and Africa must practise what they preach to others, Sir John asked the 29 member nations "to pledge to abjure (war) as a means of settling differences" and he urged that an organisation be set up to settle any disputes arising from member nations in Africa and Asia.

Indonesia, though one of the newest nations in the world, is acting as an ideal host. The formalities for delegates and press entering Indonesia are much less than normal entrance of tourists to America or Britain.

Accommodations for delegates and press are superb in this "Paris of Indonesia" and the town is on its best behaviour. Crowds line the streets and cheer the leaders of delegations, but especially Pandit Nehru and Chou En Lai.

There are reports the dreaded Darul Islam is making raids only five miles outside the city, trying by murder to make Indonesia a theocratic state, but this is none of the Conference's business. It has been said that the choice of Indonesia as the site of the Conference is a tribute to the efforts of Nehru and the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, and Pakistan to help stabilise the present Indonesian government.

At this stage of the Conference, it is hard to be sure of all the items of discussion let alone to predict the final results. If nothing else, Bandung has already achieved greatness by the very fact that it has brought together the peoples of Asia and parts of Africa. If Bandung is racial, it is definitely not racist. Here one finds an enthusiasm which the UN had in its heady days but surely has not now. If, as Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon said, the Conference can take the lead for peace, "surely Bandung will be a name to reverberate in history and earn the gratitude of ages to come."

manufacture and use, and opposed to the presence of US bombers in Britain.

John Loverseed will contest another London seat.

Let Peace News know what your candidates are doing and saying about the H-bomb.

The way it goes

Some of last week's PN successes.

★ South Benfleet, Essex, volunteer distributor reports six new readers gained among workmates following special strike period sales effort.

★ Portsmouth football crowd buy 19 Peace News in twenty minutes from new local seller.

★ Newsagents and street news vendors sell one hundred PN in immediate vicinity of Peace News office.

★ Gloucester PPU Group sponsor distribution of one hundred copies to shops in their area.

★ After the strike, newsagents in many areas agree to continue selling Peace News if local supporters guarantee against loss on left-over copies.

★ Dr. Soper leaflet "Armaments? Scrap the Lot" distributed, and Peace News sold at many Billy Graham Relay services.

This week we have printed 12,500 Home Edition, 1,450 Air Express. Send today for extra copies of this campaigning number and focus public attention on the No. 1 Election Issue—"NO H-BOMBS FOR BRITAIN."

Only four weeks to Polling day! Post your coupon for supplies now.

SEND IN THIS COUPON TODAY

To Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Please supply :

..... Peace News weekly : 2s. 6d. doz.

..... Soper leaflets : 2s. 10d.

..... Acland leaflets : 2s. 6d. 100.

..... Comfort leaflets : 2s. 6d. 100.

..... Posters "No H-bombs for Britain" : free.

..... Recent Back Numbers of Peace News : 6d. doz.

I enclose payment/please invoice £ : :

NAME

ADDRESS

BRITAIN DEBATES THE H-BOMB

who due to the poster parade and maybe the newspaper strike as well, made comparatively quick sales.

Upwards of some two hundred and fifty found their way to the Conference on "World Disarmament". Most of the audience were men from the mines and steel and tinplate factories in the surrounding area.

Dr. Gwent Jones, a Swansea medical practitioner took the chair. Dr. E. H. S. Burhop, Reader in Physics at London University was the first speaker and described graphically the terrifying destruction of life and property which even one H-bomb could produce. He expressed the hope that electors at the forthcoming General Election would lobby candidates and find out exactly where each one stood in relation to this problem of H-bomb production.

The Rev. D. R. Thomas of Merthyr followed and never was the Christian Pacifist position more clearly and forcefully put over to an audience. He said he condemned war completely, unequivocally and not only the H-bomb. "Christ is the relevant prophet for our time. We are at the point in history," he declared, "where we must apply the teachings of Jesus."

After this demonstration of Welsh "hwyl" and oratory the Chairman called upon Leslie Metcalfe and he dealt in an able manner with the subject matter of the conference "as a Quaker and as an engineer." He spoke specifically on the economic factors involved and exploded the myth that the cessation of production of armaments would bring mass unemployment.

Speakers from the floor then joined in discussion and a resolution was passed calling upon the government to reverse their decision to manufacture the H-bomb and to move towards disarmament thus releasing huge sums of money for the relief of world suffering.

The poster parade was organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the conference jointly by the FoR, Society of Friends, Swansea Peace Council and West Wales Peace Committee.

THE GREAT SMOG OF 1952

Radio-activity 300 times normal—alleges MP

A DISAGREEMENT arose over the radioactive content of the London atmosphere, when Dr. Barnett Stross, MP (Stoke-on-Trent, Central) asked questions of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Works, in the Commons on March 29.

Dr. Stross asked Major Bevins on what evidence his estimate that there was no significant increase in the radioactive content of London's atmosphere during recent years was based, and Major Bevins replied that they were based on measurements made in London periodically since 1947.

Dr. Stross then said, "Is the Parliamentary Secretary aware that hon. Members from both sides of the House who, as ordinary members of the Parliamentary and Scientific Association, went to the Chester Beatty Research Institute, were informed that the radioactive contamination of the atmosphere of London—measurements have

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